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FM THE SITUATION ROOM //TOHAK 85//

TO BREMER FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER (DACHA)✓

RODMAN FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT (DACHA)

DECAIR FOR RON ZIEGLER AND GERALD WARREN (QREANDA)

ZEM

UNCLAS WH42264

TOHAK 85

FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO ZIEGLER AND RODMAN WITH  
PRESIDENTIAL PARTY

PRESIDENT'S MOSCOW TRIP - VI (TAKE ONE)

FOLLOWING IS A ROUND-UP OF FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION AS OF SUNDAY  
1400 GMT.

FOREIGN MEDIA ON SUNDAY REPORTED THE SHIFT OF THE SUMMIT SCENE  
TO YALTA.

TREATMENT CONTINUED TO PORTRAY THE WARMTH OF THE SOVIET HOSTS  
AS DESIGNED TO HELP PRESIDENT NIXON AND ASSURE THE CONTINUITY  
OF DETENTE.

THE LONDON OBSERVER'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT SAID

"BOTH NIXON...AND BREZHNEV...ARE AWARE THAT THERE ARE PROBLEMS  
EVEN HARDER THAN WATERGATE OR KREMLIN IN-FIGHTING TO SOLVE IF  
THE DETENTE IS TO DEVELOP FURTHER. LIMITING THE NUCLEAR ARMS  
RACE HAS ALREADY EMERGED AS THE KEY ISSUE AT THE SUMMIT."

LONDON:

BRITISH SUNDAY PAPERS CARRIED CORRESPONDENT REPORTS FROM MOSCOW  
AND YALTA DESCRIBING THE SUMMIT AS A SHOW OF CAMARADERIE AND  
CONFIDENCE DESIGNED MOSTLY FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S BENEFIT.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT HENRY BRANDON REPORTED FROM MOSCOW  
IN THE INDEPENDENT-CONSERVATIVE LONDON SUNDAY TIMES THAT "SOME  
OFFICIALS ARE SUMMING UP THIS SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT AS BEING  
LIMITED TO CONSOLIDATING EARLIER PROGRESS. BUT IT SEEMS  
MORE DESIGNED TO PRESERVE A MOMENTUM AT A TIME WHEN SOVIET  
OFFICIALS ARE BAFFLED AND DISTURBED BY THE UNCERTAINTIES INHERENT  
IN THE AMERICAN SITUATION.

"IF IT WERE UP TO BREZHNEV AND THE SOVIET PRESS, THERE IS LITTLE  
DOUBT THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE WOULD BE DONE TO HELP PRESERVE  
NIXON IN OFFICE...THE KREMLIN THEREFORE, IS STAGING A SHOW-  
BUSINESS TYPE OF SUMMIT THAT WILL DEMONSTRATE TO  
AMERICANS ON THEIR TELEVISION SCREENS HOW WELCOME AND RESPECTED  
NIXON IS IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND SHOW RUSSIANS THAT BREZHNEV'S  
DETENTE POLICY, EVEN IF THE RESULTS SO FAR ARE UNSPECTACULAR,  
IS STILL ALIVE AND VALID."

BRANDON NOTED THAT "THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF CAMARADERIE.  
BREZHNEV, IN PARTICULAR, SEEMS VERY MUCH AT EASE...NIXON IS NOT  
SUCH AN EXTROVERT BUT, QUITE CLEARLY, HE ENJOYS THE VACATION  
FROM WATERGATE AND FEELS IN HIS ELEMENT AT THE NEGOTIATING

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TABLE. THE TWO MEN HAVE ONE IMPORTANT THING IN COMMON--A KIND OF PERSONAL INTERDEPENDENCE, A NEED FOR BOLSTERING EACH OTHER'S POSITION...THE MERE THOUGHT THAT JACKSON MIGHT HAVE A CHANCE OF BECOMING THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE FOR 1976 GIVES INFLUENTIAL RUSSIANS THE SHIVERS. THEY ARE HAPPY WITH THE POLICY OF DETENTE. BUT THEY FIND IT EMBARRASSING TO HAVE TO NEGOTIATE ON JEWISH EMIGRATION WITH THE AMERICANS..."

THE INDEPENDENT SUNDAY OBSERVER CARRIED TWO PIECES BY ITS DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT, ROBERT STEPHENS. REPORTING FROM MOSCOW HE SPOKE OF "BREZHNEV'S CONFIDENCE THAT, WHETHER OR NOT NIXON SURVIVES WATERGATE, THE DETENTE POLICY WILL CONTINUE AND PROVE BOTH ITS INTERNATIONAL NECESSITY AND ITS POLITICAL VALUE AT HOME." HE CONTINUED: "BUT BOTH NIXON...AND BREZHNEV...ARE AWARE THAT THERE ARE PROBLEMS EVEN HARDER THAN WATERGATE OR KREMLIN IN-FIGHTING TO SOLVE IF THE DETENTE IS TO DEVELOP FURTHER. LIMITING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE HAS ALREADY EMERGED AS THE KEY ISSUE AT THE SUMMIT...AND IT BRISTLES WITH TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES. PARALLEL WITH IT...ARE THE QUESTIONS OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION."

STEPHENS ALSO WROTE IN AN EDITORIAL-PAGE PIECE THAT AMERICA'S PRIMARY AIM IN DETENTE IS NOT TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY, BUT TO ENSURE THE SURVIVAL OF THE NON-SOVIET WORLD..."

"THE CONTRIBUTION OF NIXON AND KISSINGER HAS BEEN TO SYSTEMATIZE THIS APPROACH MORE BOLDLY AND INTELLIGENTLY THAN EVER BEFORE. THEY ARE TRYING NOTHING LESS THAN TO CREATE A MORE STABLE FRAMEWORK FOR THE NUCLEAR BALANCE OF TERROR...AND TO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS PROCESS OF FRAMEWORK-BUILDING HAS TO GO MUCH FURTHER IF IT'S GOING TO BE EFFECTIVE IN STOPPING NUCLEAR WAR..."

"THE BIG CHANGE BROUGHT ABOUT BY NIXON AND BREZHNEV IS THEIR AGREEMENT NOT SIMPLY TO ESCHEW NUCLEAR WAR, BUT ACTUALLY TO CONSULT AND COOPERATE FOR TWO CARDINAL PURPOSES: TO STABILIZE THEIR OWN NUCLEAR BALANCE AND TO PREVENT WAR-PRODUCING CRISES."

REPORTING FROM YALTA, CORRESPONDENT STEPHEN BARBER WROTE IN THE CONSERVATIVE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH THAT "'SUMMIT THREE'...WILL CERTAINLY BE PROCLAIMED A SUCCESS, AS BOTH MR. NIXON AND MR. BREZHNEV HAVE A CLEAR AND COMPELLING INTEREST IN DOING SO. WERE IT NOT FOR WATERGATE, BOTH WOULD BE MUCH HAPPIER. WATERGATE, HOWEVER, JUST WILL NOT GO AWAY. IT IS PLAINLY BEGINNING TO WEAR DR. KISSINGER DOWN, TO THE POINT WHERE SOME OBSERVERS ARE SERIOUSLY WONDERING IF HE MIGHT NOT RESIGN BEFORE LONG."

IN AN EDITORIAL THE PAPER REMARKED THAT "UNLIKE THE LONDON DEMONSTRATORS AGAINST THE SOVIET TREATMENT OF JEWS AND DISSENTERS 'MR. NIXON' ACTUALLY HAS THE EAR OF MR. BREZHNEV." (END TAKE ONE)

FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO ZIEGLER AND RODMAN WITH PRESIDENTIAL PARTY

PRESIDENT'S MOSCOW TRIP - VI (TAKE TWO)

ROME:

THE MOSCOW SUMMIT LED IN ITALIAN MEDIA. LENGTHY CORRESPONDENTS' REPORTS DETAILED SIGNING OF AN "IMPORTANT" COMMERCIAL PACT AND

"DISAGREEMENT" ON AN-UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TEST BAN. MOST REPORTS EMPHASIZED THAT THE "ATMOSPHERE IS GOOD" AND CALLED THE SUMMIT A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE U.S.-SOVIET DETENTE PROCESS. STATE-RUN ITALIAN NEWSCASTS SUNDAY MORNING NOTED THAT "AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE COMMERCIAL PACT, NIXON AND BREZHNEV NOW MUST CONCENTRATE ON THE MAIN SUBJECT OF THE U.S.-SOVIET DIALOGUE: THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN, A KNOTTY PROBLEM WHICH WILL BE TAKEN UP TODAY IN A SEARCH FOR POINTS OF CONVERGENCE."

A CORRESPONDENT IN MOSCOW NOTED THE "INTERMISSION ON THE SHORES OF THE BLACK SEA" AND SAID:

"AFTER THREE DAYS OF EXHAUSTING DISCUSSIONS THE SOVIETS ARE HARD NEGOTIATORS BUT THE AMERICANS IN THEIR TURN ARE EQUALLY TOUGH, PRESIDENT NIXON ALLOWED HIMSELF AN EVENING FREE WITH HIS WIFE...

"THE ATMOSPHERE IS GOOD; THE SUMMIT HELPS RELAUNCH THE DIALOGUE WHICH, DURING THE PAST MONTHS, HAS BEEN MARKED BY SOME PAUSES.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE TWO PROTAGONISTS, THOUGH TO A DIFFERENING EXTENT, IS TIED TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS MEETING."

PRESTIGIOUS CORRIERE DELLA SERA OF MILAN SUNDAY HEADED A STORY FROM A MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT, "NIXON GOES OVER CONGRESS' HEAD IN AN AGREEMENT WITH BREZHNEV." THE STORY SAID:

"IN WESTERN CIRCLES IT IS NOTED THAT THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED...BY THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION PROTECTS NIXON FROM POSSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL VETOES; ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS THIS VAGUE GENERAL CHARACTER WHICH IS THE WEAK POINT."

A REPORT FROM YALTA IN CENTER-LEFT IL GIORNO OF MILAN SUNDAY SAID THAT "AFTER HAVING SETTLED THEIR BUSINESS LIKE METICULOUS BUSINESSMEN, NIXON AND BREZHNEV WENT TO THE SEA FOR A WELL-DESERVED WEEKEND." HE ADDED:

"YALTA...EVOKES REMOTE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN REMEMBRANCE OF THE DIVISION AND DOMINANCE OF THE WORLD BY THE TWO POWERS WHICH UPSET DE GAULLE AND WHICH EVEN TODAY OCCASIONS MAO'S SARCASM. BUT IF SOME TODAY THINK OF YALTA IN TERMS OF A RENEWED CONTRACT BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, LET THEM THINK SO--AFTER ALL IT DOES NO HARM."

A MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF PRO-COMMUNIST PAESE SERA OF ROME WROTE SUNDAY, "THE ALTERNATION OF CORDIALITY AND CAUTION REFLECTS, AFTER ALL, THE PRESENT STATE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, NEITHER FLUID NOR YET SOLIDIFIED. NEITHER SIDE GIVES UP ITS TRUMP CARD, OR AT LEAST THE CHANCE TO SHOW THE OTHER THAT WHILE MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP IS DESIRABLE AND USEFUL, THERE ARE OTHER FRIENDS AND OTHER SOLUTIONS."

TOKYO:

JAPANESE TELEVISION AND NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED TO GIVE PROMINENT COVERAGE SUNDAY TO REPORTS ON THE MOSCOW SUMMIT, CENTERING ON SIGNING OF THE ECONOMIC AGREEMENT.

LEADING LIBERAL ASAHI OF TOKYO SAID THE ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WOULD BENEFIT THE FUTURE OF U.S.-SOVIET ECONOMIC EXCHANGES. BUT IT ADDED, "SINCE THE ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WAS VIRTUALLY THE

SAME AS THE ONE WORKED OUT AT THE U.S.-SOVIET TRADE AND ECONOMIC COMMITTEE MEETING IN WASHINGTON IN MAY, IT COULD BE SAID THAT IT WAS A 'SHOW' TO DEMONSTRATE THE RESULTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT..." IT ADDED THAT "THE NEW AGREEMENT AS A WHOLE CAN BE SAID TO BE AS UNIMPRESSIVE AS AN UNFINISHED PAINTING, BECAUSE IT BYPASSES THE PROBLEM OF U.S. CREDIT." THE PAPER JUDGED THAT "WHETHER U.S.-USSR ECONOMIC EXCHANGES CAN FURTHER EXPAND ALONG WITH THE TIDE OF DETENTE WILL DEPEND ON THE FUTURE OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN THE SOVIET UNION."

MODERATE YOMIURI OF TOKYO REPORTED SUNDAY THAT THE OREANDA TALKS WOULD CENTER ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND SAID, "TOP ATTENTION WILL FOCUS ON WHETHER THE TWO LEADERS CAN ACHIEVE A NEW LEAP TOWARD RESTRICTION OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS AT THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, AS THIS WILL HAVE A DECISIVE EFFECT ON THE DIRECTION OF THE WORLD IN THE POST-U.S.-USSR SUMMIT TALKS PERIOD."

NTV TELEVISION, REPORTING ON THE TALKS IN THE CRIMEA, SAID IT WAS "IMPOSSIBLE FOR NIXON AND BREZHNEV TO REACH A PERMANENT AGREEMENT" ON THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM "UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES" AND PREDICTED THAT THE RESULT WILL BE AN AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS."

(END TAKE TWO)

FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO ZIEGLER AND RODMAN WITH PRESIDENTIAL PARTY

PRESIDENT'S MOSCOW TRIP - VI (THIRD TAKE)

MOSCOW:

MOSCOW TASS' ENGLISH SERVICE ON SUNDAY QUOTED WRITER VITALY KORIONOV AS SAYING IN PRAVDA THAT "THE THIRD ROUND OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS CONTINUES. IT PROCEEDS IN A BUSINESSLIKE, OPEN AND CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF EQUALITY OF BOTH SIDES. THE FIRST AGREEMENTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SIGNED. IT IS THE FIRST STAGE OF THE TALKS THAT PASSED SO FAR. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. BUT THERE ARE ALL THE GROUNDS TO HOPE THAT THE PRESENT DIALOGUE WILL BE AS FRUITFUL AS THE TWO PREVIOUS ONES."

KORIONOV WAS CITED AS SAYING IN SUMMARY THAT "REALISTICALLY MINDED LEADERS IN THE U.S. ARE AWARE THAT QUESTIONS OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE SO IMPORTANT THAT THEY HAVE ASSUMED NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE. THIS EXPLAINS THE FACT THAT THE PRESENT VISIT OF RICHARD NIXON TO THE USSR HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH BOURGEOIS PARTIES OF THE U.S."

A MOSCOW BROADCAST TO NORTH AMERICA SATURDAY NIGHT SAID "PRAVDA NOTES THAT NOW EVERYBODY SEES THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THESE VISITS EXCEPT FOR THOSE WHO CONTINUE TO VIEW WORLD DEVELOPMENTS WITH SUSPICION AND HOSTILITY."

COMMENTATOR VALENTIN ZORIN, WHO TOURED THE U.S. LAST MONTH, SAID SATURDAY NIGHT IN A BROADCAST TO NORTH AMERICA THAT "I THINK I CAN SAFELY ASSERT THAT THE SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT NOT ONLY ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICANS BUT OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AS WELL." HE CITED GEORGE GALLUP AS SAYING "A SMALL BUT HIGHLY VOCIFEROUS GROUP" WAS "TRYING TO STIR UP MUDDY WATERS AND UNDERMINE THE SPIRIT OF RELAXATION." NAMING

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No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/28 : LOC-HAK-261-3-33-2

QUOTE SENAOR JACKSON AS ONE OF "THOSE WHO DO NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF IMPROVING SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE IDEA OF IMPROVING EXPANDING TRADE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES," ZORIN RELATED THAT HE HAD ASKED DAVID ROCKEFELLER "WHAT HE THOUGHT OF THESE ASSERTIONS OF UNILATERAL BENEFIT FROM SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE. HE SHRUGGED HIS SHOULDERS AND SAID THAT ONLY MEN WHO UNDERSTOOD NOTHING IN COMMERCIAL MATTERS COULD TALK LIKE THAT."

OF THE MIDDLE EAST TRIP, ZORIN REMARKED THAT "ANOTHER ARGUMENT PUT FORWARD IS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION IS ONE OF WEAKNESS AND THAT HINDERS THE PRESIDENT'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS. BUT WE'VE SEEN THAT THE WASHINGTON TURMOIL DID NOT PREVENT THE PRESIDENT FROM TOURING THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE AMERICAN MASS MEDIA WERE QUITE UNANIMOUS IN CALLING THIS VISIT A SUCCESS."

ITEM (END TAKE THREE. END ALL) ITEM USINFO

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